

Tantric Śaivism in Early Medieval India: Recent Research and Future Directions

Shaman Hatley*

Concordia University

Abstract

This essay reviews the state of the study of Tantric or ‘Esoteric’ Śaivism in early medieval India, circa 500–1200 C.E. Focusing on research published over the past decade, the discussion covers the following subjects: early scriptural literature (the Śaiva *tantras* or *āgamas*), exegetical and philosophical traditions, ritual and yoga, the roots of Tantric Śaivism, intersections between *tantra*, *purāṇa*, and the medieval temple, and debates concerning the relationship between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism. The essay concludes with a discussion of recent progress in reconstructing the historical contexts of early medieval Śaivism, with a call for further inquiry into its social history.

Introduction

Although long neglected, study of Asia’s tantric traditions has blossomed in recent decades. While particularly true of Tantric Buddhism, considerable advances have been made in the study of the Hindu tantric traditions as well. These comprise cults of a variety of deities in which texts known as *tantras* (as well as *āgama* and *saṃhitā*) form the principal scriptural authorities, and which are characterized by systems of practice centered upon self-divinization (Flood 2006, pp. 9–15) and the application of mantra for the purposes of both liberation and occult power. The most influential branches of Hindu Tantra are the Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Pāñcarātra and the Śaiva ‘Path of Mantras’ (*mantramārga*), in modern scholarship known generally as ‘Śaiva Tantra’ or ‘Tantric Śaivism’ – the focus of the present essay.¹

Tantric forms of Śaivism come into evidence around the sixth century C.E. (Sanderson 2001, pp. 2–14), and within a short period become integral to the religious landscape of early medieval South and Southeast Asia, which for the present purposes I define as circa 6th–12th century C.E. Indeed, Śaivism – including, if not especially, its tantric varieties – was prominent enough in early medieval India that Alexis Sanderson (2009), the most eminent scholar of the tradition, has recently declared this ‘the Śaiva age.’ Others have also advanced bold arguments concerning the significance of Tantric Śaivism (White 2003, pp. 2–7), and Hindu Tantra more broadly (Brooks 1999, p. ix), to the history and historiography of Hinduism. Consensus will undoubtedly take time to emerge, given that much of the data is only slowly becoming available; knowledge of the tantric traditions has long been hampered by the degree to which primary sources remain unpublished, understudied, and/or untranslated, when they survive at all. However, in the case of Śaivism, the situation has steadily improved, and we can anticipate further major advances in the coming years.

Published in 1988, Sanderson’s ‘Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions’ remains an excellent introduction to Tantric Śaivism, mapping its varieties and their historical relationships with unprecedented insight. A lucid and more accessible introduction, surveying both

tantric and non-tantric forms of Śaivism, is provided by Gavin Flood (2003). My purpose here is hence not to introduce or survey Tantric Śaivism, but to review the state of the field and recent research. I will focus primarily on scholarship published over the past decade, although neither exclusively nor comprehensively, dividing the discussion into the following areas: the early scriptural literature, the exegetical and philosophical traditions, Śaiva ritual and yoga, the Atimārga and the roots of the Tantric Śaiva tradition, Tantric Śaivism in relation to the *purāṇas* and temple worship, the relationship between Śaiva and Buddhist tantric traditions, and Śaivism in early medieval history.

The Early Tantras: Śaiva Scriptural Literature

Tantric Śaiva accounts of revelation posit scripture emanating from the five faces of Sadaśiva in ‘streams’ or ‘currents’ (*srotas*). Two of these correspond to the primary historical divisions within Tantric Śaivism. First and probably more ancient is the cult of Sadaśiva, generally referred to as the Śaivasiddhānta (or Shaiva Siddhānta, etc.), for which texts called *Siddhāntatantras* form the principal scriptural authorities. Although today associated with Tamilnadu, home of a living tradition, the early medieval Śaivasiddhānta was influential across the subcontinent. The second and more diverse ‘non-Saiddhāntika’ division, the ‘Bhairava current’ (*bhairavasrotas*), comprises cults of Bhairava – Śiva in his guise as a fierce skullbearing ascetic (*kapālin*) – and a variety of goddesses, the early scriptural sources for which are designated *Bhairavatantras* (‘Tantras of Bhairava’). It is within this stream that the Kaula (‘of the Clans [of goddesses]’) systems emerge from as early as the eighth century, some of which remain influential even now (e.g. Śrīvidyā, and the cults of Kālī in Bengal and Kerala). Although rooted in Tantric Śaivism, these are also ‘Śakta’ or *śakta-śaiva* insofar as goddesses (*śakti*) occupy positions of cultic and/or theological preeminence. It is the *Bhairavatantras* and Kaula *tantras* which form the scriptural background to the non-dualist exegetical tradition of Kashmir, while the *Siddhāntatantras* form the basis for the dualist exegesis of authors such as Sadyojyotis and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. The remaining three streams are historically important, but poorly preserved: the cult of the Sisters (*bhagīnī*) of Tumburu (Śiva as celestial musician) taught in the *Vāmatantras* (‘Tantras of the Leftward Stream’); that of the *Bhūtatantras*, focused largely upon exorcistic magic; and that of the *Gāruḍatantras*, focused primarily upon apotropaic and/or medicinal magic. While most research has focused upon the two major streams, new discoveries have also enriched our knowledge of more minor ones, as well as the tantric cult of Sūrya, the Sun (e.g. Acharya 2009; Sanderson 2001, pp. 13–14; Sanderson 2009, pp. 50–51; Slouber 2007).

In one of his inimitable footnotes, Sanderson (2001, n. 1) has compiled a list of 122 *tantras* which the pre-twelfth century ‘Kashmirian authors show that they have direct knowledge of’ – 132 when augmented by texts mentioned in the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* by Hdayaśiva of Mālwa. Some pre-twelfth century *tantras* not quoted by these authors also survive in manuscripts.² In addition, many early tantric works contain lists of *tantras*, which, to the extent that these texts actually existed, adds dozens of additional titles to the list (see, e.g., the *Śīrkaṇṭhīyaśaṃhitā* [Hanneder 1998, pp. 237–68]). An assessment of how many of the pre-twelfth century Śaiva *tantras* survive might be premature, but the number appears to be less than sixty; of these, only approximately twenty have appeared in printed editions, in whole or in part, including texts edited in doctoral theses as yet unpublished (Hatley 2007; Törzsök 1999). And aside from two short works, the *Vijñānabhairava* (Singh 1979; Silburn 1999) and *Vīṇāśikhātantra* (Goudriaan 1985), it seems only the *Mrgendrāgama* (Hulin 1980; Brunner 1985), *Rauravāgama* (Dagens & Barazer-Billoret 2000), *Yogīnīthṛdaya* (Padoux

1994), and *Nityāṣoḍaśikāṇava* (Finn 1986) have been translated in whole, the former three into French and the latter into English.³ Quality is also a serious issue: relatively little of the literature which has reached publication takes into consideration all the available manuscript evidence. In other words, the early scriptural literature surviving in manuscripts represents a small fraction of what must have once existed, and the study of the surviving literature remains at an early stage. When one takes into consideration post-eleventh century literature as well, the quantity of unpublished Hindu tantric texts expands exponentially.⁴

Our knowledge of the scriptural literature of the Śaivasiddhānta owes much to two large-scale publication endeavors based out of Tamilnadu. The first of these resulted in the publication series of the Śaiva Siddhānta Paripālana Saṅgha ('Organization for Preserving the Śaivasiddhānta') of Devakottai during the first quarter of the 20th century. In early post-independence India, a major, ongoing project was commenced under the direction of Jean Filliozat. Based at the French research centers in Pondicherry (Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d'Extrême-Orient), this endeavor has focused on the collection and transcription of Śaivasiddhānta manuscripts and the preparation of critical editions, translations (primarily into French), and studies. Special mention is warranted for the exceptional contributions of N. R. Bhatt (l. 1920–2009), which include critical editions of such fundamental texts as the *Mrgendra* (-tantra/āgama), *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (with the commentary of Rāmakaṇṭha), and *Raurava*; and of Hélène Brunner (l. 1920–2005), whose studies and translations illuminate innumerable dimensions of Śaivism, especially ritual. Their work has been carried forward most notably by Dominic Goodall, whose editions of early exegetical and scriptural works (Goodall 1998, 2004) of the Śaivasiddhānta set new philological standards. Building upon the work of Sanderson and Brunner, Goodall (2004, pp. xiii–xxxiv) also contributes much needed clarity concerning the wide gulf separating the theology, ritual, and scriptural canon of the early pan-Indian Śaivasiddhānta from those of the post-twelfth century South Indian tradition, though scholars frequently conflate these (note, e.g., Dhavamony 2005). Other recent products of Indo-French collaboration on the Śaivasiddhānta include editions of the *Ajita-mahātānta* (Bhatt *et al.* 2005) and the *Dīptāgama* (Barazer-Billoret *et al.* 2004–2009).

The state of knowledge of the more numerous and diverse early non-Saiddhāntika *tantras* is comparatively poor, although it has improved considerably in the interval since the publication of Teun Goudriaan and Sanjukta Gupta's survey of the literature (1981). While many key Śaiva scriptural works, such as the *Svacchandatantra* (Kaul Shāstrī 1921–35), have been published on the basis of Kashmiri manuscripts, much attention is now being given to tantric texts transmitted (often exclusively) in Nepalese manuscripts. Knowledge of and access to these materials have been facilitated by the remarkable work of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, which microfilmed more than 180,000 Nepalese manuscripts between 1970 and 2001.⁵ Research has been facilitated by a provisional list of titles made available in 2002. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this collection, which has provided, for instance, unique manuscripts of a Jain canonical text that was presumed lost (Acharya 2007b), the original *Skandapurāṇa* (Adriaensen *et al.* 1998), and the *Niśvāsataṭṭvasaṃhitā* – probably the earliest extant work of tantric Śaiva literature (Goodall & Isaacson 2007), currently being edited by Sanderson and Goodall. Relying upon Nepalese manuscripts, the cult of the hunched-back goddess Kubjikā has received particular scrutiny, with critical editions and studies of the *Kubjikāmata* (Goudriaan & Schoterman 1988; Heilijgers-Seelen 1994) as well as portions of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* (Schoterman 1982) and *Manthānabhairavatantra* (Dyczkowski 2009). Knowledge of the early Śaiva cult of *yoginīs* has also advanced through studies and partial editions of the *Siddhayogeśvārīmata* (Törzsök 1999, 2000) and *Brahmayāmala* (Hatley 2007).

The difficulties associated with working on this material suggest that progress will remain slow: a number of the unpublished *tantras*, such as the 24,000-thousand verse *Jayadrathayāmala*, are massive, or contain vexing textual problems. Such works could require decades for a single individual to critically edit, besides an unusual commitment from a publisher. For instance, Mark Dyczkowski's (2009) monumental study, critical edition, and translation of one book of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* – the *Kumārikhaṇḍa* – was prepared over a twenty-year period and occupies fourteen volumes. Another level of difficulty lies in the peculiarities of the Middle-Indic influenced hybrid Sanskrit in which much of the literature is written – in emic terms referred to as *Aiśa*, 'the language of the Lord,' to the study of which Judit Törzsök has made a major contribution (1999, pp. xxvi–lxix). The philological difficulties are compounded by the difficulties in locating these anonymous texts in time and place; while plausible relative chronologies can be established among select works (see e.g. Sanderson 2001), precise estimates generally remain elusive. An example of the challenges and possibilities involved in situating *tantras* in historical context is provided by Sanderson's study of the *Netratantra* (2005b).

Śaiva Exegetical Traditions

The academic study of Tantric Śaivism derived great impetus from the largescale colonial-era editing project represented by the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (c. 1911–1947, for the Śaiva works). Focused upon the non-dual Śaiva exegetical literature of Kashmir, but including much more, the KSTS made available a substantial corpus of Śaiva documents, ranging from editions of key early scriptural texts, such as the *Svacchandatantra* and *Mālinīvijayottara*, to the exegetical works of the Kashmirian polymath Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025 C.E.) and other authors of his lineage. It is this rich tradition of non-dualist exegesis which has entered discourse on Indian philosophy and religion under the rubric of 'Kashmir Shaivism.' However, as Sanderson pointed out long ago (1983), the designation is misleading given that Kashmir was also an important center for the dualist and more orthodox Śaivasiddhānta exegesis. The rubric 'Trika' (the 'triad' of goddesses, *Parā*, *Parāparā*, and *Aparā*) or 'Trika Śaivism' also seems inappropriate, for this intimates a cultic affiliation rather than a doctrinal system or set of related systems.

The rich corpus of non-dual Śaiva exegesis has long attracted scholarly interest. Dyczkowski (1989) remains a useful overview of non-dualist Śaiva thought, and we now have the benefit of Sanderson's erudite survey of the Kashmirian literature (2007b), both dualist and non-dualist, which is particularly valuable for its historical insights and treatment of lesser-known texts and authors. Much of the scholarly literature on non-dual Śaivism has consisted of the translation and exposition of key texts or sections thereof (e.g. Pandey 1954; Gnoli 1999 [1972], 1990; Rastogi 1987; Dyczkowski 1992a, 1992b; Sferra 1999; Torella 2002 [1994], 2007a,b,c,d etc; Hanneder 1998; Silburn & Padoux 1998; Dupuche 2003; Nemec 2005; Sanderson 2005a; Lawrence 2008). This remains a vital mode of scholarship, for most of the exegetical works have not received detailed studies and remain untranslated. Monographs focused upon specific themes in Śaiva doctrine include André Padoux's classic investigation of conceptions of sound and language (1990) – note also Torella's (2004) and Sferra's (2007) contributions to this subject – Paul Muller-Ortega's phenomenological study of Abhinavagupta (1989), Jürgen Hanneder's analysis of the *Mālinīślokaṅkārttika* (1998), explicating Abhinavagupta's complex vision of revelation and the canon, and David Lawrence's philosophical inquiry into the *Pratibhijñā*, 'the doctrine of recognition' (1999).

The dualist exegetical tradition of the Śaivasiddhānta has attracted somewhat less attention, but recent scholarship has advanced understanding considerably of two principal thinkers: Sadyojyotis (Borody 2005; Filliozat 1994, 2001; Sanderson 2006a) and the Kashmirian Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (Goodall 1998; Goodall *et al.* 2008; Watson 2006). Sanderson (2006a) has made a strong argument for dating the former, proposing c. 675–725 C.E. as the most plausible period of activity, while Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (2001) and Alex Watson (2006) have furthered knowledge of these authors' respective doctrinal works. The editions of previously unpublished works of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (Goodall 1998; Goodall *et al.* 2008) represent particularly important contributions. Perhaps the greatest contribution to the study of dualist exegesis concerns ritual rather than doctrine, however: Brunner's *magnum opus*, a copiously annotated four-volume translation of the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (Brunner 1963–1998). A work of Aghoraśiva, the famous 12th-century South Indian exegete, has also been re-edited recently with excellent annotation (Goodall *et al.* 2005) – the *Pañcāvaraṇastava*, concerned with the visualization of Sadaśiva and his retinue.

Despite its richness and the long availability of textual sources, Śaiva thought has been slow to enter the canon of 'Indian philosophy,' much less enter into dialogue with other theological and philosophical traditions. Recent scholarship does much to redress this situation. Watson (2006) examines Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's arguments against the Buddhist doctrine of no-self in commendable detail, thereby situating the early Śaivasiddhānta perspective within one of the key debates of Indian philosophy. Lawrence (1999, 2008), in contrast, examines the non-dualist Pratyabhijñā ('doctrine of recognition') in the context of comparative philosophy, with inquiry into areas such as proofs for the existence of God (1999), deconstruction (1999), and narcissism (2008, pp. 39–58). Isabelle Ratié, for her part, has contributed impressive studies on subjectivity and memory in the Pratyabhijñā (2007a), as well as the ethical issues of alterity (2007b) and altruism (2009). While the existing body of research has become substantial and is often of high quality, most areas of the field still call for further endeavor, and in my opinion warrant a combination of philological and historical as well as constructive and comparative approaches.

Ritual and Yoga

As mentioned, study of Śaiva practice systems has benefitted enormously from Brunner's annotated four-volume translation of the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (Brunner 1963–1998), an 11th-century text of the genre dedicated to delineating ritual procedures, the *paddhati*. This comprises a rich scholarly resource, as illustrated by Heinrich von Stietencron (2005, ch. 10), who draws upon it as source material for querying medieval conceptions of religious identity and the modern idea of 'Hinduism.' Knowledge of the technical terminology of Śaiva ritual, among other subjects, also benefits from the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* ('Hindu Tantric Dictionary'), of which Brunner was a founding editor; two of five projected volumes have so far been published (Brunner *et al.* 2000–2004).

While most aspects of Śaiva ritual remain understudied, the liturgy of the medieval South Indian Śaiva temple is an exception owing to Richard Davis' insightful (and elegantly crafted) monograph (1991), based primarily upon the *Kāmikāgama*. A more recent volume edited by Gudrun Bühnemann (2003) advances understanding of *maṇḍalas* and *yantras* across the Śaiva, Smārta, and Pāñcarātra traditions, with essays by leading scholars in their subfields. The subject of mantra will also be enriched by publication of Padoux's collected essays on the subject, in English translation (Padoux, *forthcoming*). Jun Takashima has contributed studies on both initiation (Takashima 1992) and installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) (2005), rich and important fields for future research. Kaula sexual ritual has received com-

paratively detailed treatment: John Dupuche (2003) provides an annotated translation of chapter 29 of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, on the subject of the erotic 'clan rite' (*kulayāga*), while David White (2003) aims to reconstruct the earliest form of 'tantric sex,' as situated within the contexts of cosmology, myth, and history. Rich and original, the latter nonetheless draws on a relatively small portion of the relevant early sources, most of which are unpublished, and thus overlooks what appears to be the earliest variety of Śaiva coital ritual (Hatley, *forthcoming*).

Śaivism developed elaborate and highly influential systems of yoga, within a framework of six limbs (*ṣaḍāṅga*) rather than the eight of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. Knowledge of this subject has been enriched considerably by Somadeva Vasudeva's erudite study of the Kaula yoga of the *Mālinīvijayottara* (2004), which he partially re-edits. His focus is upon this text's yoga of the 'conquest of the levels of reality' (*tattvajaya*), as well as the yoga of six limbs and 'yogic suicide' (*utkrānti*). The complexity and richness of the subject is illustrated by the fact that Vasudeva's study (2004) and the earlier work of Dory Heilijgers-Seelen (1994) each explicate only one of multiple systems contained within their source texts (the *Mālinīvijayottara* and *Kubjikāmata*, respectively). A more conceptual approach to tantric yoga is offered by Flood (2006), whose sophisticated interpretation of the 'tantric body' focuses on the processes by which praxis inscribes or 'entextualises' the body with knowledge, especially of cosmology, as mediated by text and tradition. Also contributing to the study of Śaiva yoga is White's recent monograph (2009), which highlights the 'out-of-body' dimensions of yogic praxis through the ages.

Although it takes us beyond the 'early medieval,' an important emerging area of research lies in the connections between Tantric Śaivism and *haṭhayoga*: late medieval traditions of tantric yoga associated with the Nātha cult placing considerable emphasis upon bodily discipline, especially breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) and posture (*āsana*). While texts of *haṭhayoga* have long been available, and there have been insightful studies in the area (White 1996), new materials have come to light which help elucidate the transition from Kaula Śaivism to *haṭhayoga*, circa 12th–14th centuries. One of these is the *Khecarīvidyā* attributed to Ādinātha, admirably edited and analyzed by James Mallinson (2007). Even more pertinent are the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, partially edited by Kiss (2010), and the fascinating case of the so-called *Amṛtakunḍa*, a *haṭhayoga* text surviving only in Persian and Arabic translations (Ernst 2003). In both of these, we find a Kaula cult of *yoginīs* alongside the incipient practices of *haṭhayoga*. As Kiss points out (Kiss 2010, pp. 8–11, 38–62), the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* adds to the mounting evidence of historical connections between the Kaula cult of the goddess Kubjikā and early *haṭhayoga*.

The Atimārga and the Roots of Tantric Śaivism

One of the major advances of recent years lies in the emerging clarity concerning links between Tantric Śaivism, or the Mantramārga, and Brāhmaṇical Śaiva ascetic orders: the Pāśupatas and related groups, for which Sanderson (2006b, pp. 156–63) proposes use of the emic designation Atimārga ('The Outer Path'). A number of recent contributions advance understanding of Pāśupata literature (Acharya 2007a; Bisschop 2005), history and iconography (Acharya 2006), monasteries (Sears 2007), and Pāśupata elements in the ancillary literature of the *Atharvaveda* (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003; cf. Sanderson 2007a, demonstrating tantric influence upon Orissan followers of the *Atharvaveda*). Minoru Hara's numerous studies on Pāśupata Śaivism are also now conveniently available in a single volume (Hara 2002). Most pertinent to the present discussion, Sanderson (2006b), on the basis of evidence from the unpublished *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, primarily, has shed light

upon an obscure Atimārga group known as the Lākulas. As he argues, their cosmology and ritual observances (*vrata*) evidence notable continuities with early Tantric Śaivism, supplying a missing link between the Mantramārga and the comparatively orthodox Pāśupatas. This represents a major advance over earlier scholarship (Lorenzen 1991 [1972], 2002), which relied mainly on the limited data available from inscriptions, doxographies, and literary works. In a related area, Shingo Einoo (2005, 2009) has made notable contributions concerning the continuities between Vedic and tantric ritual. The close links identified between the early Mantramārga and Atimārga, and between Vedic and tantric ritual, undoubtedly bring us closer to the ‘roots’ and ‘origins’ of tantra than recent efforts less informed by study of early Śaiva literature (Harper & Brown 2002; Samuel 2008, pt. 2), though these studies offer valuable perspectives and insights.

Tantra, Purāṇa, and Temple

Another promising area of inquiry lies in study of the relationship between Tantric Śaivism and more public, lay-oriented forms of the religion. The old *Skandapurāṇa* (c. 6th–8th century C.E.) has provided material for several contributions in this area: Yuko Yokochi’s study of its Kauśikī-Vindhyavāsinī cycle (2005) sheds much light on the rise of the ‘Great Goddess,’ a development significant to Tantric Śaivism and popular religion alike; Peter Bisschop (2006) draws upon the *Skandapurāṇa* for elucidating the sacred geography of early Śaivism; and the Koṭivarṣa myth of *Skandapurāṇa* 171 has provided important data concerning early tantric literature (Sanderson 2001, pp. 6–7) and goddess cults (Hatley 2007, pp. 48–66). Phyllis Granoff’s study of the myth of Brahmā’s decapitation (2009) also demonstrates the rewards of examining purāṇic and tantric material in tandem. As with Śaiva *purāṇas*, the little-studied Śivadharmā textual corpus, centered upon the religious practices of lay Śaivas (‘Māheśvaras’), is likely to provide much relevant data for future research.

A related area lies in the relationship between tantric practice systems and temple liturgies, which ties in to the larger issue of the relationship between Śaiva textual sources and the art-historical record. While the content of the early *tantras* pertains primarily to individual esoteric ritual, Śaiva officiants (*ācāryas*) also conducted rites of installation and consecration for temple images. Moreover, there exists a little-studied scriptural genre known as the *Pratiṣṭhātantras* concerned with the construction, installation, and consecration of temples and images; some of these seem to predate the tenth century (e.g. the unpublished *Devyaṃmata* and *Piṅgalāmata*). Research on these would be valuable for elucidating intersections between tantric practice and the early medieval temple and could possibly shed light on the subsequent temple-centered reconfiguration of the Śaivasiddhānta in Tamilnadu, from the twelfth century (Sanderson 2007b, pp. 238–40). In the non-Saiddhāntika traditions, a fascinating case is presented by the temples of goddesses known as *yoginīs*. Prominent in both early Kaula *tantras* and Vajrayāna Buddhism, *yoginīs* became the focus of a temple cult from the tenth century, reflecting the adaptation of esoteric pantheons and praxis systems to a semi-public, calendrical liturgy (Dehejia 1986; Hatley 2007, pp. 110–28).

Tantric Buddhism and Tantric Śaivism

One of the most fascinating and historically significant issues featuring in recent research has concerned the relationship between Buddhist and Hindu tantric traditions. While the issue is hardly new – ‘which came first?’ speculation features prominently in colonial-era scholarship – it has received fresh impetus with Sanderson’s contention (Sanderson 1994,

2001) that some Buddhist *Yoginītantras*, especially texts of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle, derive content from Śaiva *tantras* of the Vidyāpīṭha division of *Bhairavatantras*. Sanderson, moreover, extends this claim from one of textual to systemic influence, arguing that ‘almost everything concrete in the system is non-Buddhist in origin even if the whole is entirely Buddhist in function’ (Sanderson 1994, p. 92). His more recent studies have elaborated upon the philological evidence (Sanderson 2001, 2009) and provide a more developed historical narrative (2009). A significant rejoinder has been presented by Ronald Davidson (2002, pp. 202–24), who rejects Sanderson’s claims of dependence on grounds ranging from the chronology of evidence to models of textual criticism. Recently, Sanderson (2009, pp. 189–220) has offered a compelling response on the text-critical issues while also adducing much additional documentation. On grounds largely distinct from Davidson’s, David Ruegg (2008, pp. 105–12) also voices strong objections to Sanderson’s thesis, advancing instead what he calls a ‘substratum’ model for understanding the syncretic and/or shared elements of Buddhism and Hinduism. While Davidson’s critique (2002) reflects modest engagement with early Śaiva literature, Ruegg’s evidences almost none: his concern is rather with conceptual and historical frameworks for understanding commonalities between the traditions. Despite Ruegg’s objections, his approach to elucidating a shared religious and cultural heritage, the ‘substratum’ which makes ‘symbiosis’ both possible and meaningful, could perhaps provide additional context for Sanderson’s thesis concerning Śaiva influence on the Buddhist *Yoginītantras*. This is a debate that will undoubtedly continue, hopefully based upon specific engagement with the relevant primary sources and enriched by additional voices (note already Gray 2007, pp. 7–11; Hatley 2007, pp. 175–87; Sferra 2003).

Conclusion: Toward a Social History of Tantric Śaivism

North American scholarship has increasingly come to focus upon the ‘lived’ or ‘embodied’ dimensions of the tantric traditions, as approached through ethnography, vernacular literatures, and critical theory, with emphasis on their social, gender, political, economic, and other contexts (e.g. Biernacki 2007; Davidson 2002; McDaniel 2004; Urban 2001). As the documentary record of early Śaivism becomes better-known and increasingly accessible, we may expect scholarship in this area as well to reflect a broader range of methods and concerns (cf., e.g., White 2003 and Flood 2006). Indeed, while we will never have for early medieval India the volume and variety of materials available for contextualizing modern, colonial, and even late medieval religious data, the past decade’s scholarship demonstrates that the surviving sources do provide scope for reconstructing aspects of the social history of the early tantric traditions. In particular, much has been done to explicate the fascinating intersections between these traditions and medieval political formations in India and beyond (Davidson 2002; Sanderson 2003–2004, 2005b, 2007a, 2009; White 2003). It is hoped that future scholarship shall also succeed in illuminating early Śaivism as a lived religion beyond the court.

In reconstructing the social history of Śaivism, cultural and gender studies, historical anthropology, and the sociology of religion will undoubtedly be key. White (2003, 2009), for instance, affords examples of the insights possible through taking ethnographic data into consideration, alongside the textual and material, an approach Frederick Smith (2006) argues for in his rich study of deity and spirit possession. Nonetheless, for the foreseeable future textual criticism shall remain essential, given the degree to which early Śaiva texts remain unpublished and pose philological challenges. A great percentage of the textual sources, overwhelmingly in Sanskrit and crucial for advancing understanding

of premodern tantric traditions, languish in near-oblivion in manuscript form, in some cases a single fire, riot, rot, or theft away from perpetual obscurity. In this regard, prevailing attitudes toward philology and Sanskrit seem unhelpful.⁶ The shift toward study of the 'embodied' dimensions of Hindu Tantra has, for instance, been framed as a turn away from Sanskrit; in the words of Jeffrey Kripal, 'I am naturally more interested in what Tantra *feels* like in Bengali than what it *thinks* in Sanskrit' (1998; p. 29)⁷ – a sentiment echoed in the catchy phrase 'vernacular Tantra' (Elmore 2007, p. 762; Urban 2003, p. 275). Undoubtedly the language worlds of vernacular texts give us invaluable windows into the tantric traditions, but the equation of Sanskrit with philosophy suggests unfamiliarity with the literature. In any case, deep contextualization must embrace the full gamut of source materials, whether linguistic or otherwise.

I have attempted to outline what I see as the current state of research on Tantric Śaivism in early medieval India. In closing, I would suggest that this area of study appears poised on the threshold of a new maturity. While no single development leads me to suggest this, one important factor lies in recent progress in the critical editing of key early texts.⁸ The field's emerging maturity also finds reflection in the growing availability of texts in electronic formats, invaluable for facilitating textual research. While many scholars have contributed to this happy situation, the most important work has been carried out by the Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute, under the supervision of Mark Dyczkowski.⁹ (Of concern, though, is the dearth of instructional materials suitable for the undergraduate religion classroom; Tantric Śaivism remains poorly represented in both primary source anthologies and introductory textbooks, with the exceptions of Goodall 1996 and Flood 1998, respectively.) Probably the most significant development in the field, however, lies with Sanderson's recent historical studies (especially Sanderson 2009), which, based on decades of research in uncharted territory, advance novel hypotheses concerning the history and significance of Śaivism in early medieval South and Southeast Asia. The scholarly reception of this work remains to be seen, as do the ways in which new knowledge of Tantric Śaivism might reshape the historiography of South Asian religions.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Alberta Ferrario, Michael Gollner, Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, John Nemec, Gene Thursby, and the anonymous reviewer, who provided valuable suggestions for improving this essay.

Short Biography

Shaman Hatley, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Religion of Concordia University, Montréal, researches the literature, ritual, and social history of Tantric Śaivism in medieval India, and religion in premodern Bengal. Hatley's dissertation, 'The *Brahmayāmalatantra* and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs,' analyses the history of the Śaiva cult of *yoginīs* and provides a partial critical edition of one of its earliest scriptural sources, the *Brahmayāmala*. Hatley is a contributor to the *Tāntrikābhidhānakōśa* ('A Dictionary of Technical Terms from Hindu Tantric Literature') and has authored several articles and book chapters concerning tantric practices and goddess cults. His current research focuses on the ritual roles and divinization of women in early Tantric Śaivism and Buddhism. He completed his PhD in Religious Studies at the University of Pennsylvania in 2007.

Notes

* Correspondence address: Shaman Hatley, Department of Religion, Concordia University, 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd West, Montréal QC, H3G 1M8 Canada. E-mail: shatley@alcor.concordia.ca.

¹ Note that I include many Śākta traditions, such as the tantric cult of Kālī, within the rubric of 'Tantric Śaivism'; see the discussion of early scriptural literature.

² E.g. the *Kaulajñānamāyā*, which survives in a mid-11th century Nepalese manuscript (National Archives of Kathmandu accession no. 3–362, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project microfilm reel A48/13).

³ Leaving aside non-scholarly efforts, notably Michael Magee's transcriptions of tantric texts (on which see Brunner 1992). Though the text, being a South Indian Śaiva temple *āgama*, is probably later than the others mentioned, the complete translation of the *Ajitāgama* (Bhatt et al. 2004–2009) certainly deserves mention as well.

⁴ The situation might approach comparison to that of Tantric Buddhism: Isaacson (1998, p. 3) estimates there to be well over 1500 Buddhist Tantric works of all genres extant in their original language of composition, and another 2000 surviving in translations; of these, 'an almost insignificant percentage has been edited or translated reliably.'

⁵ According to the project website: http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp/index_e.html (accessed in October 2009).

⁶ In this regard, it is worth revisiting Mircea Eliade's evaluation of the role of philology in the 'creative hermeneutics' at the core of his vision of the history of religions: 'For the History of Religions, as for many other humanist disciplines, 'analysis' is equivalent to 'philology.' One does not consider a scholar responsible unless he has mastered a philology (understanding by this term knowledge of the language, history, and culture of the societies whose religion he studies)' (1965, p. 6).

⁷ I would add that Kripal (1998, p. 28) also acknowledges that 'enormous textual work still needs to be done' as a foundation for other levels of interpretation.

⁸ A number of such projects are being conducted under the auspices of the international project, 'Early Tantra: Discovering the interrelationship and common ritual syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura traditions.' Led by Harunaga Isaacson and Dominic Goodall, this involves more than a dozen scholars and aims at producing critical editions of several key works of early Tantric literature, including sections of the *Niśvasatattvasaṃhitā*, *Brahmayāmala*, and the *Mañjuśrīyāmūlakalpa*. The project website is as follows: <http://www.tantric-studies.org/projects/early-tantra/> (accessed in February 2010).

⁹ The web address of the Digital Library is as follows: http://muktalib5.org/digital_library.htm (accessed in February 2010). In addition to electronic transcriptions of printed editions, the Digital Library includes an impressive quantity of transcriptions directly from manuscripts (of which the level of accuracy could nonetheless be improved). The project also makes available older printed editions of Śaiva texts, including the entire Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies and many volumes of the South Indian Devakottai series. Recently, it has commenced a fruitful collaboration with the Institut Français de Pondichéry to make scans of the latter's large collection of Śaivasiddhānta manuscript transcriptions available online.

Works Cited

- Acharya, D. (2006). The Role of Caṇḍa in the Early History of the Pāśupata Cult and the Image on the Mathurā Pillar Dated Gupta Year 61, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 48, pp. 207–22.
- (2007a). The *Saṃskāravidhi*: A Manual on the Transformatory Rite of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupatas. In: D. Goodall, A. Padoux (eds.), *Mélanges tantriques à la mémoire d'Hélène Brunner/Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, pp. 27–48. Collection Indologie, no. 106. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- (2007b). The Original *Pañhavāyaraṇa/Praśnavyākaraṇa* Discovered. *Centre of Jaina Studies Newsletter*, issue 2, pp. 22–3.
- (2009). Fragments of Palm-Leaves and Tidbits of Evidence: A Report of Some Otherwise Unknown *Bhūta- and Gāṇḍa-Tantras*. Presentation made at the Second International Workshop on Early Tantra, Pondicherry.
- Adriaensen, R., Bakker, H. T. & Isaacson, H. (1998). *The Skandapurāṇa, Vol. I. Adhyāyas 1–25. Critically Edited with Prolegomena and English Synopsis*. Supplement to Groningen Oriental Studies. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Barazer-Billoret, M.-L., Dagens, B. & Lefèvre, V. with Śivācārya, S. S. (vol. 1–3) & Barois, C. (vol. 2–3). (2004–2009). *Dīptāgama: Édition critique*. 3 vols. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.
- Bhatt, N. R., Filliozat, J. & Filliozat, P.-S. (2005). *Ajītamahātānta. The Great Tantra of Ajita*. 5 vols. Delhi: the Indira Gandhi Centre for the Arts/Motilal Banarsidass.
- Biernacki, L. (2007) *Renowned Goddess of Desire: Women, Sex, and Speech in Tantra*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bisschop, P. & Griffiths, A. (2003). The Pāśupata Observance (*Atharvavedaparīṣṭa* 40), *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 46, pp. 315–48.

- Bisschop, P. (2005). *Pañcārthabhāṣya on Pāsupatasūtra 1.37–39 Recovered from a Newly Identified Manuscript*, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 33, pp. 529–51.
- (2006). *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa. Sects and Centres*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Borody, W. A. (trans.). (2005). *Bhoga Kārikā of Sadyojyoti, with the Commentary of Aghora Śiva*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Brooks, D. R. (1999) [1990]. *The Secret of the Three Cities: An Introduction to Hindu Śākta Tantrism*. 1st Indian edn. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Brunner, H. (trans.). (1963–1998). *Somaśambhupaddhati. Text, traduction et notes*. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, nos. 25.1–4 (1963, 1968, 1977, 1998). Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- (trans.). (1985). *Mṛgendrāgama. Section des rites et section du comportement, avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha*. Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- (1992). Review of Louise M. Finn, *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra, with the Jayaratha Commentary* (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986); and Michael Magee, *Vamakesvarimatam, Text with English Translation* (Varanasi: Granthamala, no. 11, 1986), *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35, pp. 299–317.
- Brunner, H., Oberhammer, G. & Padoux, A. (eds.) (2000–2004). *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa. Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique*. 2 vols. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, no. 44. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bühnemann, G. (ed.) (2003). *Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
- Dagens, B., Barazer-Billoret, M. L. (trans.). (2000). *Le Rauravāgama : un traité de rituel et de doctrine Śaivites*. Publications du département d'indologie, nos. 89.1–2. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.
- Davidson, R. M. (2002). *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Davis, R. (1991). *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshiping Śiva in Medieval India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dehejia, V. (1986). *Yoginī Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition*. New Delhi: National Museum.
- Dhavamony, M. (2005) [1987]. Śaivism: Śaiva Siddhānta. In: J. Lindsay (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd edn, pp. 8042–3. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Dupuche, J. R. (2003). *Abhinavagupta: the Kula Ritual, as elaborated in chapter 29 of the Tantrāloka*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Dyczkowski, M. S. G. (1989). *The Doctrine of Vibration. An Analysis of the Doctrines and Practices of Kashmir Shaivism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (1992a). *The Stanzas on Vibration: The Spandakārikā with Four Commentaries..* Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (1992b). *The Aphorisms of Śiva: The Śiva Sūtra with Bhāskara's Commentary, the Vārttika*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (2009). *Manthānabhairavatantram Kumārikākhaṇḍaḥ. The Section Concerning the Virgin Goddess of the Tantra of the Churning Bhairava*. 14 vols. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts/D.K. Printworld.
- Einoo, S. (2005). The Formation of Hindu Ritual. In: S. Einoo, J. Takashima (eds.), *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration*, pp. 7–49. Japanese Studies on South Asia, vol. 4. New Delhi: Manohar.
- (2009). From *kāmas* to *siddhis*: Tendencies in the Development of Ritual towards Tantrism. In: S. Einoo (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, pp. 17–39. Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series, 23. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Eliade, M. (1965). Crisis and Renewal in History of Religions, *History of Religions*, 5(1), pp. 1–7.
- Elmore, M. (2007). Definitional Transgression, or the Revenge of the Vernacular in Hindu Tantric Studies, *Religion Compass*, 1(6), pp. 752–67.
- Ernst, C. (2003). The Islamization of Yoga in the *Amṛtakunda* Translations, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 13(2), pp. 199–226.
- Filliozat, P.-S. (trans.). (1994). *The Tantra of Svayambhū, vidyāpāda, with the Commentary of Sadyojyoti*. Kalāmūlāśāstra Series, no. 13. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts/Motilal Banarsidass.
- (2001). The Philosophy of Sadyojyoti. In: V. Kameswari, K. S. Balasubramanian, T. V. Vasudeva (eds.), *Śaiva Rituals and Philosophy*, pp. 19–49. Chennai: Kuppuswami Sastri Research Centre.
- Finn, L. M., (trans.). (1986). *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra, with the Jayaratha Commentary*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Flood, G. (1996). *An Introduction to Hinduism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2003). The Śaiva Traditions. In: G. Flood (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*, pp. 200–28. Maldon, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- (2006). *The Tantric Body: the Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Gnoli, R. (trans.). (1990). *Essenza Dei Tantra: Tantrasāra*. Milano: Rizzoli.
- (trans.). (1999) [1972]. *Abhinavagupta: Luce dei Tantra: Tantrāloka*. 2nd edn. Biblioteca Orientale 4. Milano: Adelphi.
- Goodall, D. (trans.). 1996. *Hindu Scriptures*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

- (1998). *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra. Vol. 1: Chapters 1–6*. Publications du département d'Indologie, vol. 86.1. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.
- (2004). *The Parāḥyatantra. A Scripture of the Śaiva Siddhānta*. Collection Indologie, no. 98. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Goodall, D. & Isaacson, H. (2007). Workshop on the *Niśvāsataṭṭvasamhitā*: the Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra? *Newsletter of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project*, 3, pp. 4–6.
- Goodall, D., Rout, N., Sathyanarayanan, R., Sarma, S. A. S., Ganesan, T. & Sambandhasivacharya, S. (eds.) (2005). *Pañcāvaranastavaḥ. The Pañcāvaranastava of Aghoraśivācārya: A twelfth-century South Indian prescription for the visualisation of Sadāśiva and his retinue*. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Goodall, D., Kataoka, K., Acharya, D. & Yokochi, Y. (2008). A First Edition and Translation of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Tattvatrayanirṇayavivṛti*. A Treatise on Śiva, Souls and Māyā, with Detailed Treatment of Mala, *South Asian Classical Studies*, 3. Fukuoka: Department of Indology, Kyushu University.
- Goudriaan, T. (1985). *The Viṇāśikātantra: A Śaiva Tantra of the Left Current*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Goudriaan, T. & Gupta, S. (1981). *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*. History of Indian Literature, v. II, fasc. 2. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Goudriaan, T. & Schoterman, J. A. (eds.) (1988). *The Kubjikāmatatantra: Kulālikāmnāya Version*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Granoff, P. (2009). Other People's Stories: Haribhadra and the Decapitation of Brahmā, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 52(1), pp. 1–14.
- Gray, D. (2007). *The Cakrasamvara Tantra: A Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies/Columbia University Press.
- Hanneder, J. (1998). *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation. Mālinīślokaṭṭika I, 1–399*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Hara, M. (2002). *Pāśupata Studies*. J. Takashima (ed.). Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili.
- Harper, C. A. & Brown, R. L. (eds.) (2002). *The Roots of Tantra*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hatley, S. (2007). *The Brahmayāmala Tantra and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs*. PhD thesis, The University of Pennsylvania.
- (forthcoming). Erotic Asceticism: the Knife's Edge Observance of *Brahmayāmala* XL (the *asidhāvratapaṭala*), with a critical edition and translation, *Tantric Studies*, 3.
- Heilijgers-Seelen, D. (1994). *The System of Five Cakras in Kubjikāmatatantra 14–16*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Hulin, M. (trans.). (1980). *Mrgendragama. Sections de la doctrine et du yoga, avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha et la Dipikā d'Aghoraśiva*. Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- Isaacson, H. (1998). Tantric Buddhism in India (from ca. A.D. 800 to ca. A.D. 1200). *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, band II, pp. 24–49. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.
- Kaul Śāstrī, M., (ed.). (1921–35). *The Svachanda Tantram, with Commentary by Kshemarāja*. 6 vols. KSTS nos. 31, 38, 44, 48, 51 (vol. 5a), 51 (vol. 5b), 56. Bombay: the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir State.
- Kiss, C. (2010). Matsyendra's Compendium (*Matsyendrasamhitā*): A critical edition and annotated translation of *Matsyendrasamhitā* 1–13 and 55 with analysis. PhD thesis, The University of Oxford.
- Kripal, J. J. (1998). *Kali's Child: the Mystical and the Erotic in the Life and Teachings of Ramakrishna*, 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lawrence, D. P. (1999). *Rediscovering God with Transcendental Argument. A Contemporary Interpretation of Monistic Kashmiri Śaiva Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (2008). *The Teachings of the One-Eyed One. A Study and Translation of the Virūpākṣapañcāśikā with the Commentary of Vidyācakravartin*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lorenzen, D. N. (1991) [1972]. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*. 2nd revised edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (2002). Early Evidence for Tantric Religion. In: C. A. Harper, R. L. Brown (eds.), *The Roots of Tantra*, pp. 25–36. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Mallinson, J. (2007). *The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of an Early Text of Hathayoga*. London; New York: Routledge.
- McDaniel, J. (2004). *Offering Flowers, Feeding Skulls: Popular Goddess Worship in West Bengal*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Muller-Ortega, P. E. (1989). *The Triadic Heart of Śiva: Kaula Tantricism of Abhinavagupta in the Non-dual Shaivism of Kashmir*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Nemec, J. (2005). Śaiva Arguments against the Grammarians: Somānanda's *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, Chapters One and Two. PhD thesis, The University of Pennsylvania.
- Padoux, A. (1990). *Vāc: The Concept of the Sacred Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*. J. Gontier (trans.). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (trans.). 1994. *Le cœur de la yoginī: Yoginīhr̥daya, avec le commentaire Dipikā d'Amṛtānanda*. Paris: Collège de France.
- (forthcoming). *Studies in Mantraśāstra*. London; New York: Routledge.

- Pandey, K. C. (1954). *Bhāṣkāṇ. An English Translation of the Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vimarśinī in the Light of the Bhāṣkāṇ. With an Outline of the History of Śaiva Philosophy*. 3 vols. The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Texts, no. 84. Lucknow.
- Rastogi, N. (1987). *Introduction to the Tantrāloka: A Study in Structure*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Ratić, I. (2007a). La mémoire et le Soi dans l'Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī d'Abhinavagupta, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 49 (2006 [issued in 2007]), pp. 39–103.
- (2007b). Otherness in the Pratyabhijñā Philosophy, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 35, pp. 313–70.
- (2009). Remarks on Compassion and Altruism in the Pratyabhijñā Philosophy, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 37, pp. 349–66.
- Ruegg, D. S. (2008). *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with 'Local Cults' in Tibet and the Himalayan Religion*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Samuel, G. (2008). *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra. Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanderson, A. (1983). Review of Michel Hulin (trans.), *Mrgendragama: sections de la doctrine et du yoga, avec le vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha et la ḍīpikā d'Aghoraśiva. Traduction, introduction et notes* (Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1980), *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 46(1), pp. 161–2.
- (1988). Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions. In: S. Sutherland, P. Clarke, (eds.), *The World's Religions*, pp. 660–704. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (1994). Vajrayāna: Origin and Function. In: *Buddhism into the Year 2000. International Conference Proceedings*, pp. 87–102. Bangkok: Dhammakaya Foundation.
- (2001). History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras. In: F. Grimal (ed.), *Les Sources et le Temps. Sources and Time. A Colloquium, Pondicherry 11–13 January 1997*, pp. 1–47. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondicherry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- (2003–2004). The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers, Part I, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 90–91, pp. 349–463.
- (2005a). A Commentary on the Opening Verses of the *Tantrasāra* of Abhinavagupta. In: S. Das, E. Furlinger (eds.), *Sāmarasya: Studies in Indian Arts, Philosophy, and Interreligious Dialogue in Honour of Bettina Bäumer*, pp. 89–148. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld.
- (2005b). Religion and the State: Śaiva Officials in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical Chaplain (with an appendix on the provenance and date of the *Netratantra*), *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 47 (2004 [issued in 2005]), pp. 229–300.
- (2006a). The Date of Sadyojyotiś and Brhaspati, *Cracow Indological Studies*, 8 (2006 [issued in 2007]), pp. 39–91.
- (2006b). The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between Pāncārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism. Ramalinga Reddy Memorial Lectures, 1997, *The Indian Philosophical Annual*, 24, pp. 143–217.
- (2007a). Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory: The *Āgīrasakalpa* Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and their Connection with the Trika and the Kālikula, with critical editions of the *Parājāpavidhī*, the *Parāmantravidhī*, and the **Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa*. In: A. Griffiths, A. Schmiedchen (eds.), *The Atharvaveda and its Paippalāda Śākhā: Historical and Philological Papers on a Vedic Tradition*, pp. 195–311. Geisteskultur Indiens: Texte und Studien, bd. 11, Indologica Halensis. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- (2007b). The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir. In: D. Goodall, A. Padoux (eds.), *Mélanges tantriques à la mémoire d'Hélène Brunner/Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, pp. 231–442. Collection Indologie, no. 106. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- (2009). The Śaiva Age. In: S. Eino (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, pp. 41–350. Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series, 23. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Schoterman, J. A., (ed.). (1982). *The Śaṣāhasasamhitā. Chapters 1–5: Edited, Translated, and Annotated*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sears, T. (2007). Śaiva Monastic Complexes in Twelfth-Century Rajasthan: The Pāśupatas and Cāhamānas at Menāl, *South Asian Studies*, 23, pp. 107–26.
- Sferra, F. (1999). The Tantracocaya by Abhinavagupta. An English Translation, *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 59 (1–4), pp. 109–33.
- (2003). Some Considerations on the Relationship between Hindu and Buddhist Tantras. In: G. Verardi, S. Vita (eds.), *Buddhist Asia 1. Papers from the First Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in May 2001*, pp. 57–84. Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies.
- (2007). Materials for the Study of the Levels of Sound in the Sanskrit Sources of the Śaivasiddhānta. *Ratnatrayapañiṣā* 22, 70c–86b, 171c–173b and its *Ullekhinī*. With Excerpts from an Unpublished Commentary. In: D. Goodall, A. Padoux (eds.), *Mélanges tantriques à la mémoire d'Hélène Brunner/Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, pp. 443–74. Collection Indologie, no. 106. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Silburn, L. (1999). *Le Vijñānabhairava: Texte traduit et commenté*. Paris: Collège de France.
- Silburn, L. & Padoux, A. (trans.). (1998). *Abhinavagupta. La lumière sur les tantras, chapitres 1 à 5 du Tantrāloka*. Paris: Institut de civilisation Indienne.

- Singh, J. (trans.). (1979). *The Vijñānabhairava*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Slouber, M. (2007). The Manuscripts of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, *Newsletter of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project*, 5, pp. 9–16.
- Smith, F. M. (2006). *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- von Stietencron, H. (2005). *Hindu Myth, Hindu History: Religion, Art, and Politics*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black (distributed by Orient Longman, New Delhi).
- Takashima, J. (1992). Dikṣā in the Tantrāloka. *Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture*, 119, pp. 45–84. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, The University of Tokyo.
- (2005). *Pratiṣṭhā* in the Śaiva Āgamas. In: S. Einoo, J. Takashima (eds.), *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration*, pp. 115–42. Japanese Studies on South Asia, vol. 4. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Torella, R. (2002) [1994]. *The Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikā of Utpaladeva with the Author's Vṛtti. Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*. 2nd edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (2004). How is Verbal Signification Possible: Understanding Abhinavagupta's Reply, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 32, pp. 173–88.
- (2007a). Studies in Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti*, Part I. *Apoha* and *Anupalabdhi* in a Śaiva Garb. In: K. Preisendanz, (ed.), *Expanding and Merging Horizons. Contributions to South Asian and Cross-Cultural Studies in Commemoration of Wilhelm Halbfass*, pp. 473–90. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- (2007b). Studies in Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti*, Part II. What is memory? In: K. Klaus, J.-U. Hartmann, (eds.), *Indica et Tibetica. Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*, pp. 539–63. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- (2007c). Studies in Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti*, Part III. Can a Cognition Become the Object of Another Cognition? In: D. Goodall, A. Padoux, (eds.), *Mélanges tantriques à la mémoire d'Hélène Brunner/Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, pp. 475–84. Collection Indologie, no. 106. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- (2007d). Studies in Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti*, Part IV. Light of the subject – light of the object. In: B. Kellner, H. Krasser, H. Lasic, M. T. Much, H. Tauscher (eds.), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, pp. 925–39. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, heft 70.1–2. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- Törzsök, J. (1999). 'The Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits'. A Critical Edition of Selected Chapters of the *Siddhayeśvaraṃmata*(tantra) with Annotated Translation and Analysis. PhD thesis, The University of Oxford.
- (2000). Tantric Goddesses and Their Supernatural Powers in the Trika of Kashmir (*Bhedatraya* in the *Siddhayeśvaraṃmata*), *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 73, fasc. 1–4, pp. 131–47.
- Urban, H. B. (2001). *The Economics of Ecstasy: Tantra, Secrecy, and Power in Colonial Bengal*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- (2003). *Tantra: Sex, Secrecy, Politics and Power in the Study of Religion*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Watson, A. (2006). *The Self's Awareness of Itself: Bhaṭṭa Rāmakāṇṭha's Arguments Against the Buddhist Doctrine of No-self*. Publications of the De Nobili Research Library, no. 32. Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili Institut für Südasiens-, Tibet-, und Buddhismuskunde de Universität Wien.
- White, D. G. (1996). *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- (2003). *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- (2009). *Sinister Yogis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Yokochi, Y. (2005). The Rise of the Warrior Goddess in Ancient India. A Study of the Myth Cycle of Kausikī-Vindhyavāsini in the *Skandapurāṇa*. PhD thesis, The University of Groningen.